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THE
VOICE
OF THE
WORKER

'That which is good for the working class I esteem patriotic... James Connolly'

a whitewash finish

THE STORY OF THE EVICTION carried out at 10 Newenham Street, on Tuesday, March 28, caused some distress among Limerick's privileged class. Unsavoury cases, like the eviction, are always considered best left alone, especially when powerful financial and legal interests are concerned. The 'Limerick Socialist's' investigation of the intrigue and the unscrupulous activity involved caused a minor stir. The eviction article caused repercussions in political, press, legal and religious circles. The entire April issue was sold out within a week of publication.

The landlord and the solicitors concerned, having been caught red-handed, made no attempt to refute the charges made against them. The local press, having knowingly and deliberately suppressed the story of the eviction, was unable to reply to the indictment. Into this breach, to take up the cudgels of justice on behalf of these interests, stepped the unlikely figure of Noel Smith, the reporter representative of 'Independent' Newspapers in Limerick. On April 23, Smith wrote an article titled 'The Real Truth Behind that Limerick Eviction' in which he purported to 'explain' the reasons for the eviction. As a whitewashing effort the piece was a first-class job, but as a factual account of the event, it was riddled with contradictions, inaccuracies and omissions. On the following day, April 24, the 'Limerick Socialist' replied to Noel Smith's article and listed six main errors. This letter has not, as yet, been

published by the 'Sunday Independent'. (It appears in this issue of the 'Limerick Socialist').

Smith continued his role as apologist for the Limerick press and legal world with a further article on the plight of one



of the evicted women, Brigid Keane, on April 25, in the 'Irish Independent'. He described how the 65-year-old woman was forced to live on £1 a week charity from St. Vincent de Paul—but that out of this sum she had to pay 70p a week for her overnight accommodation at Rosanna House. In this article Smith, for long one of Steve Coughlan's pet press boys, introduced that deputy to the story. Coughlan said nothing about the eviction, but said 'it was appalling that a woman had to live in such circumstances today.' He said that Miss Keane 'should be entitled to £3 a week home assistance ...' Nowhere in the two articles did Smith give an account of Coughlan's total involvement in the eviction.

On the eve of the eviction, Monday, April 27, Mrs. Mary Minogue, the main tenant evicted, called to see Coughlan at his home at Wellington Terrace. Coughlan promised he would get the eviction delayed for a month, to give the women a chance to get alternative accommodation. The tenant went home relieved that the eviction would not now take place. On the following morning when the bailiff called to carry out the eviction, he told her he knew nothing about Coughlan's month stay. At that, the tenant went off to contact Coughlan, but he was not at home. All day long, while the eviction continued, Coughlan could not be found. After waiting for four weeks, and conscious of the interest aroused by the 'Limerick Socialist' investigation,

continued overleaf

IT'S THE THOUGHT THAT COUNTS

FAREWELL PRESENTATIONS are usually simple enough affairs. A clock, or some such like present, is given to the departing person and the event is celebrated in a suitable way. A recent political presentation, however, departed from this time-honoured practice. Philip Dundon, after two years membership of the Labour Party, decided to leave Limerick to take up employment as a full-time social worker in London. Then Ald. S. Coughlan got in on the act. The deputy, seeing in this ordinary happening an opportunity of keeping in the limelight, hit on the brainwave of a presentation. The event was hastily organised.

The function was held on Wednesday, 27 April, in Connolly Hall, where Labour Party members gathered at Coughlan's behest to pay tribute to Dundon. The

Press was invited to cover the nostalgic occasion and a 'Limerick Leader' team of reporter and photographer was in attendance to snap the happy couple.

Coughlan smiled and Dundon smiled. From his pocket Coughlan took a package and, to the thunderous applause of the dutiful followers, presented it with great pomp to the delighted Dundon. The young reporter innocently asked: 'What is it?' The Deputy remained calm. 'A wallet of notes', he said, without blinking an eyelid. Dundon was even more delighted. But delight quickly turned to disbelief when he opened and closely examined the package. He discovered: a letter from Fianna Fail seeking EEC Referendum funds.

When the smiles and handshakes were finished, the dazed Dundon tackled

Coughlan. 'What's this', he demanded, 'Where's the wallet of notes?' 'Don't worry Coughlan reassured him, 'I'll send it on to you.'

So the story went around that Coughlan had presented Dundon with a wallet of notes and some people were again impressed at the 'generosity' of 'good old Steve'. The 'Limerick Leader' published a cosy paragraph headed 'Presented with a wallet of notes' describing the Connolly Hall caper. A photograph showing Coughlan and his cronies presenting Dundon with the 'wallet of notes' appeared in that paper on 6 May.

'Ald. Coughlan said that Mr. Dundon would be a great loss to Limerick and the Labour Party', the 'Leader' quoted.

Whatever about being a loss to Limerick, Dundon was certainly at a loss for words to

continued overleaf

A WHITEWASH FINISH

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Coughlan attempted to salvage some cheap publicity by shedding crocodile tears for the plight of one of the evicted women. Noel Smith followed up with another piece on the 'Sunday Independent', April 30, titled 'Better Days ahead for Miss Keane'. This article stated that Coughlan had 'secured a home assistance allowance which is expected to be about £3 a week'. The article also claimed that 'Efforts are being made ... to secure a local authority bungalow accommodation for the women.'

The only significant happening on the legal front was a letter, dated April 18, received by the tenant at 12 Newenham Street, also threatened with eviction. The letter from the tenant's solicitor, stated: 'The case was struck out in the Circuit Court today by Messrs. Holmes and Murphy. Mr. Holmes tells us that he does not know if the new purchaser will proceed further or not ...'

The only reference to the eviction in the local press came in an oblique statement in

an editorial titled 'Eviction--A Dirty Word'. The 'Echo' stated: 'Eviction in Ireland has always been a dirty word, for it brings back memories of grasping landlords and the days when in the 19th century the Irish agrarian tenant had no protection ... Whether it takes place in O'Malley Park or from one of the jerrybuilt georgian houses in the city it is something which still sends a shiver down the spine and creates reaction.'

Smith has no basis for his claim in his original article 'that local newspapers had decided not to publish it pending detailed checking of the facts'. The two papers concerned are not making any 'detailed' investigation of the facts and would, in fact, be very happy to hear the last of the affair. The Newenham Street eviction story will never be published in the 'Limerick Leader' nor the 'Limerick Weekly Echo.'

The Newenham Street eviction is certainly a dirty word for the 'Echo' and the four old women concerned have some knowledge about the 'shiver down the spine' feeling. The 'Limerick Leader' kept a prim silence and licked its wounds. And Noel Smith is looking around for his next whitewashing job.

IT'S THE THOUGHT THAT COUNTS

from PAGE 1

describe the trickery of Coughlan.

On Saturday, 30 April, Dundon left for London, minus his wallet of notes. His arrival in Islington apparently cleared his head and inspiration dawned. He realised that his hopes of ever getting the 'wallet of notes' were as distant as Limerick itself. So he wrote a letter to Coughlan, which the Deputy received on Wednesday, 3 May. The letter stated:

'Dear Steve, 26/28 Northampton Pk.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you and my fellow members of the Labour Party in Limerick East for their kind thought in organising a collection on

my behalf which you have led me to believe is to be forwarded to me in the near future.

However, in thanking you I would at this stage make a request that the said 'wallet of notes' be given to the Director of the Limerick Social Service Centre, Rev. Fr. Brian Geoghegan, who I am sure, is well known to you.

My reason for making this request at this time is that as that organisation played such an important part in helping me to make this move into social work that it would indeed give me very great satisfaction to know that this gesture on my part might help others to take on the same future.'

Thanking you again,
Philip.'

So the ball--or the 'wallet of notes'--was back in Coughlan's court. He had cynically and successfully exploited Dundon's departure for personal publicity but the plot had now backfired. Dundon had changed the script. And to add to the problem, the response from Coughlan's cronies to the 'presentation fund' had not been encouraging. However, through Dundon's initiative, they had now been given the chance to put their St. Vincent de Paul socialism into practice. The director of the Social Service Centre has been alerted to watch out for the ill wind blowing down Henry Street, carrying the windfall of Dundon's 'wallet of notes'. Next year's Social Service Centre's report should make interesting reading; it will document in hard cash terms the size of Coughlan's 'appreciation' of Dundon's 'great loss to Limerick and the Labour Party'. It is an ill wind ...

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connolly's socialism

'... Is not this attitude symbolic of the attitude of the Church for hundreds of years? Ever counselling humility, but sitting in the seats of the mighty; ever patching up the diseased and broken wrecks of an unjust social system, but blessing the system which made the wrecks and spread the disease; ever running divine discontent and pity into the ground as a lightning rod runs and dissipates lightning, instead of gathering it and directing it for social righteousness as the electric battery generates and directs electricity for social use. The day has passed for patching up the capitalist system; it must go ...'
(*'Labour, Nationality and Religion'*).



'THE STATE must be made completely our instrument or else all the legislative results of our activity will inevitably grow into fresh and more perfect chains for our own enslavement.' (*'Ireland and the Insurance Act'*. '*Forward*'. May 31, 1913).



'IN EVERY COUNTRY Socialism is foreign, is unpatriotic, and will continue so until the working class make socialism the dominant political force ... By their aggressiveness and intolerance the possessing classes erect the principles of their capitalist supremacy into the dignity of national safeguards; according as the working class infuse into its political organisation the same aggressiveness and intolerance it will command the success it deserves and make the socialist the only good and loyal citizen'. (*Workers' Republic*).



'ONCE AND FOR ALL it must be understood that he who strikes at labour in Ireland will get blow for blow in return. It may be necessary to wait patiently for years, but when the opportunity comes the blow should be swift and decisive and merciless'. (*Workers' Republic*, June 1915).



'A MAN may be a sincere and ardent nationalist, may indeed be ready to die for nationalism, and yet be an unscrupulous and bitter enemy of social progress and enlightenment.' (*'Forward'*, 25 February, 1911).

THE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION

EVERY worker knows that the central issue in the conflict in the North of Ireland is Partition. This issue is whether the Protestant community has the right to remain in the United Kingdom State, or whether it should be forced, against its clearly and often-expressed will, into a state, under the control of Southern Nationalists.

This is the political division between the Catholic and Protestant communities, and this is the political division between Catholic and Protestant workers. It intrudes into every aspect of social life. It worms its way into every working class home, every factory, every trade union and every political party.

A century of frustrated attempts to build a united working class movement, capable of overthrowing capitalism in Ireland, has demonstrated beyond question, that until there is general agreement on the rights and wrongs of this question, no real challenge to capitalism can be made.

Such an agreement can only be based upon a scientific understanding of the Partition conflict. Myths are no use to the working class. For far too long has the working class movement, in Ireland, been satisfied with nationalist mythology. It is time to end that situation, and remove once and for all the only obstacle to working class unity.

The Workers' Association has been formed for this very purpose. Its objective is to promote understanding of the national conflict within the working class movement, to mobilise workers for the democratic settlement of the national conflict and to break the influence of nationalism in the working class. The Workers' Association bases its policy on the fact that two nations exist in Ireland. It totally rejects the myth, created and propagated by the Southern ruling class that Ireland is a single nation.

While rejecting the demand of the Catholic ruling class in the South to exercise its rule over the Ulster Protestant community, the Workers' Association stands opposed also to Protestant nationalists who seek a way out of the national conflict through oppression of the Catholic minority in the North. Such policies can only intensify, not eliminate, the national conflict. And by intensifying the conflict they drive even further apart Catholic and Protestant workers. The Workers' Association has but one demand:

Full recognition of the right of the Ulster Protestant nation to remain a part of the state of its own choosing. Full recognition of the democratic rights of the Catholic national minority in Northern Ireland/UK state and of the Protestant minority in Southern Ireland.

noel smith's 'real truth'

THE FOLLOWING is the text of a letter sent to the 'Sunday Independent', in reply to an article by Noel Smith, titled 'The Real Truth Behind That Limerick Eviction', which appeared in that paper on 23 April, 1972. The letter has not, as yet, been published.

THE EDITOR,
'Sunday Independent'. 24 April, 1972

Dear Sir,

More than three weeks after the eviction of four old women in Limerick, your reporter, Noel Smith, purports, in your edition of 23 April, to give the 'real truth' about the matter. His article contains a number of contradictions, inaccuracies and omissions. Among the most serious of these were:

1

Noel Smith states: 'The house from which Mrs. Minogue was evicted was one of a row of three owned jointly by two Limerick solicitors, Mr. Dermot Morrissey-Murphy and Mr. Gordon Holmes. They had contracted to sell the three houses some months previously after agreement for compensation and for a date of vacant possession, and they were under pressure from the new owner to complete the sale. The houses have now changed ownership.' Your reporter does not explain how the tenant of 12 Newenham Street, another one of the three houses concerned, has been officially informed that the former joint owners have now dropped their 'contractual obligation' for vacant possession.

2

Noel Smith states that the evicted main tenant at 10 Newenham Street had 'asked for £1,000 compensation for the landlords' possession.' He fails to mention that in February, 1971, after the three houses had been bought by Messrs. Morrissey-Murphy and Holmes, proceedings were started to obtain vacant possession. The tenant of No. 10 did not wish to leave her home and did not therefore, seek compensation. Having originally been offered £750 to quit, this sum was increased to £1,000 on the day of the court case to secure vacant possession. Under this pressure the tenant reluctantly agreed to accept the compensation and to vacate the house within a six months period, ending on March 1st, 1972.

3

The article further states: '... the women were believed to have known that alternative accommodation would be provided by the Corporation as soon as the eviction took place.' This statement is not true, and the women had no knowledge of

alternative accommodation. In fact, this assertion is directly contradicted by a statement in the same article from Mr. P. D'Arcy, Housing Officer of the Limerick Corporation, who is quoted as saying: 'It had to be a snap decision when the women suddenly found themselves without a house, and we really did the best we could for them.' Having evicted the four women, the landlords did nothing to secure another house for them and the Corporation flat was provided through the intercession of the Limerick Social Service Centre.

4

Noel Smith states that having bought the three houses for a figure 'believed to have been in the region of a total of £5,000', the joint landlords, 'On the sale to Mr. O'Mara ... made a total profit of £1,400 each.' While Noel Smith gives no source for this statement, he does not seem to be aware that the new owner is on record as having stated that he paid £12,000 for the houses.

5

The article continued: 'The Limerick Socialist' broadsheet had alleged that the eviction story had been suppressed in Limerick. But I established since that local newspapers had decided not to publish it pending detailed checking of the facts. Four weeks have passed since the eviction and the newspapers concerned have failed to refute the suppression charges or to publish the results of their 'detailed checking of the facts.' However, in the light of Noel Smith's announcement, many Limerick people will look forward to reading the reports of these long and 'detailed' investigations.

6

The article alleges that 'Mr. Morrissey-Murphy and Mr. Holmes are believed to be intensely annoyed over what they regard as serious inaccuracies and distortions in the 'Limerick Socialist' story. They are thought to be infuriated that the story did not make absolutely clear that every wish to Mrs. Minogue had been granted ... The 'Limerick Socialist' article made clear that 'every wish' had not been granted, in particular, her first and biggest wish to be allowed to remain in her home. With the exception of Noel Smith's claim about the amount of profit made on the sale of the houses, no attempt has been made to list the 'inaccuracies and distortions' in the 'Limerick Socialist' story.'

Some Limerick people believe that the reason for the landlords' infuriation is not so much the alleged 'inaccuracies and distortions' but the fact that they have been caught breaking their Eleventh Commandment--'Thou shalt not be found out.'

(For the 'Limerick Socialist')

report

'A FILMENT OF THE IMAGINATION' was how Jim Kemmy, chairman of the Limerick Socialist Organisation, described the historical Irish nation when he addressed the Historical Society of University College Cork, on Friday, April 28.

Outlining the 'Two Nations' theory, Jim Kemmy said that Sinn Fein and Southern Nationalist organisations appeared certain that only one nation exists in Ireland.

'But Sinn Fein (Officials) give a shame faced recognition to two nations. By their insistence that the Northern Protestants could not be bombed into a 32-county Ireland they are thereby recognising their right to opt out,' he said.

The view that Ireland is one nation is a view developed by the Southern ruling class, Jim Kemmy told the students, and the South has shown little real concern for the Northern Catholics. 'Had they been concerned, they would have ceased their propaganda campaign against the Protestants,' he said, 'but in fact the South has never reconciled the loss of the North.'

Jim Kemmy said that the Southern Nationalists had used the Northern Catholic minority as a fifth column against the Protestants, but it was always the Northern Catholics who bore the brunt of the Protestant backlash.

Referring to the position of the Southern Protestants, he said they had always been a quiet and timid minority although they had good reason to be otherwise as social legislation always discriminated against the Southern Protestants.

Dealing with the present emerging militant organisations such as the UVF and Vanguard, Jim Kemmy said they were the proof of the Northern Protestant Nationalism and likened them to the IRA and Sinn Fein on the Catholic side.

But the breaking of the working class into Nationalistic divisions only hampers the growth of socialism and on this point he said: 'The working class should stand opposed to Capitalism and its Nationalistic ideologies.'

Concluding, he cited two requirements of the end to the present conflict: (1) the right of the Northern Protestants to live in the state of their own choosing and (2), full civil rights for Catholics in the North and Protestants in the South.

quote

'As long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist it is folly to hope for an isolated settlement of the housing question or of any other question affecting the lot of the workers. The solution lies in the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of subsistence and instruments of labour by the working class itself.' Engels.

TELEVISION VIEWERS who watched a recent 'Late Late Show' may be asking themselves some questions regarding the national conflict in Northern Ireland, in the wake of the discussion between Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien and Professor John A. Murphy. The debate and questions were sparked off by Mr. Robert Kee's new book 'The Green Flag' which tries to examine and analyse Irish nationalism.

It took Mr. Kee 752 pages and at the end he still was not sure if he had discovered the ingredients of Irish nationalism. The questions of nationalism and national identity have clouded the Northern Ireland issue and distorted our vision with a green haze.

Let us try, in an objective way, to scrutinise our nationalism; what does it mean? What does it make us do? What in fact is it? Is nationalism only a myth, invented by the bosses as a weapon to keep the working class in its place?

Throughout our schooling we were taught to blame and hate England ... for what she did to us. The Irish people did--and still do--suffer. When our super-duper patriots kept the hate alive, it soon saturated young and innocent generations. How many times have we come out of school saying: 'If I had a gun I would kill the English'? This may be an extremely simple way of explaining the situation but how many people are today fighting for a united Ireland when they know in their hearts that the only way this will be achieved is by bombing the Northern Protestants into a 32-county Ireland.

When viewed in a 'Church and State taught hate' context, then these people are not to blame for their actions, because according to their lights, they are acting in a manner which is completely compatible with their upbringing and background. They have been drenched with green nationalism; encouraged by a hypocritical State which

THE COMING TOGETHER of a large number of charitable organisations, at a meeting in Limerick, was the subject of an editorial which appeared in the 'Limerick Weekly Echo', on Saturday, 22 April.

Commenting on the meeting the editorial stated: 'Once there was only the St. Vincent de Paul Society to help those who were down on their luck or who had struck hard times. Now it is interesting to learn that there are at least 48 organisations in this city involved in social services of one kind or another. At least that is the number that came together--or lent support --to a meeting held at the Social Service Centre recently. They decided to set up a consultative council to represent all the organisations.

'This was an excellent decision, for there is no doubt that no matter how well-meaning these good people may be, there must be some overlapping in their work. The new arrangement should lead to a better service for those who need the help of a voluntary body.'

Despite the existence of all the charitable organisations, it has been estimated that there are over 6,000 people in the city of Limerick living on or below the poverty line and it is not enough to

why

on one hand condemns the IRA and on the other turns a blind eye. The perpetrators of the present violence are confused people. They see Government Ministers laying wreaths on the graves of our glorious heroes and paying tributes to their contribution in Ireland's fight for freedom. But, of course, the fight is not over yet, we still have Six more to get. So, viewed in this context, it is little wonder that the men with the fixed minds and the 'liberating' guns think they are heroes, patriots, and freedom fighters. All they are is the left-overs of a national struggle being led by blind men who are prepared to sacrifice innocent people for a hypocritical lie. It is a lie well contrived, lovingly cultivated and an appropriate 'safety valve' for the misdirected aggression of the IRA. It's OK to lash Stormont, bomb the Prods, kill the RUC, shoot the British Army, but don't dare turn on Jack Lynch ... he is (secretly) behind the IRA. For him it also keeps pressure off the situation in the South. Unemployment, redundancies, homeless, and speculators making money at the expense of workers; Jack wouldn't like all that to be known or attacked.

So join the IRA--go up to the Border and fight for Ireland. Continue the glorious tradition ... too many have died now to give up. Carry on this 'glorious' tradition and the Southern bosses love each and every one of you. Wave the green flag and call for the British Army to get out. It doesn't matter if many of the workers in the South have no houses; it doesn't matter if they have no jobs. Everything will be OK once the British

CURE

JOE KEMMY

suggest, as the 'Echo' does, that all these people have simply 'struck hard times'. Poverty is most frequently found amongst the handicapped, the unemployed,

'It is not my task to suggest means of relief of family poverty. I would suggest that social problems like it have been overcome. The most important thing is to identify and isolate a problem and get people to admit it is there.' (Bishop Birch, speaking on 'Poverty in Ireland', last November, "This Week", 3 December, 1971).

deserted wives, unmarried mothers, itinerants and those in the lower income bracket. The following statistics, produced by Seamus O'Cinneide, of the Institute of

nationalism?

Army is gone. Then the Northern Catholics will have the same measly Southern Social Welfare Benefits ... now there is something to look forward to ... and no more contraceptives either.

Of course one never hears of the rights of the Northern Protestants. Have they a right to live in Ulster, have they a right to their own destiny? Are they a nation and have they proved this by their history and by their willingness to take up arms to defend their State? However hurtful this question may be, it is one which must be faced. For fifty years the Southern nationalists, dominating the workers, and supported by the capitalists, have tried to force the Northern majority into a 32-county Ireland. For fifty years they have failed. But they have failed to learn the lesson of this legacy.

What rights would the Northern Protestant community have in a State controlled by the gunmen and their representatives? The gunmen's hate is so great that they cannot see that other people have rights. Their hate is so great that they refuse to listen to the views of anybody who disagrees with them. The Church and State have done a fine job ... the bombings and murders testify to that. Could one of the gunmen explain his nationalism or his 'right' to dominate the Northern Protestant community?

Yes ... a fine job has been done in the education and propaganda war. It is not explained that the British Army is only the visible result of Britain's interest in Ireland. How many British firms operate in Limerick and Shannon Airport? The Progress International Shannon workers were among the first to protest about the Derry murders. They walked in a parade, yet some weeks ago the total work force of 83 men

were sacked. No one walked anywhere, except to the Labour Exchange. No one protested. Why ... could it be that the capitalists have so brainwashed the workers with images of nationalism that the workers consider it the only important thing? It is plain that this form of nationalism has divided the working class. Likewise the Northern Protestant workers are controlled (at present) by men like Craig, with his Vanguard Movement, the North's answer to the IRA. This development was inevitable in the wake of Catholic IRA attacks. So the only people who are benefiting from all this are the people in power, the capitalists. And while the workers are distracted in fighting nationalist battles, they make profits. Of course it would be another question if the Southern workers turned their attention to the situation in the South and began to agitate for better housing, more jobs, etc. Then we would see how the Southern Irish State and its army and police force would be used.

For fifty years the Church and State have combined to produce a 'zombie patriot' one of whose reasons for being was to win back the Six 'occupied' counties of Ireland. This done, a wave of the magic wand and everything would be rosy. By their actions these nationalists are successfully hindering the development of a united working class movement and are working against the interest of the Socialist revolution. They are pawns in an elaborate game; a deadly game invented by the ruling class to ensure its continued stay in power. Still they pay lip-service to the myth, the nationalist myth ... as too many workers have died to give up now ... so die on, the 'Patriot Game' is calling.

FOR POVERTY

Public Administration, serve to illustrate the extent to which poverty exists in the 26 counties: 13,000 widows on the poverty line; 2,000 deserted wives likewise; 33,000 men under 65 receiving unemployment benefit, and, with their families, this adds up to 83,000 people; 14,000 people under the age of 65 receiving disability benefits on a long term basis. The estimate O'Cinneide produced when speaking at the 'Poverty in Ireland' conference in Kilkenny, last November, was that 21% of the population is on the bread line or below it. Or, as the 'Echo' might put it, 'down on their luck'.

Why is it, then, that despite organisations like St. Vincent de Paul and all the others, we have hardly succeeded in scratching the surface of the problem?

Speaking at a two-day plenary meeting of St. Vincent de Paul recently, Mr. Peter Keehan, chairman of the research and development committee of that organisation, stated that '50% of members came from the

professional, management and large farmer category, and only 2% came from the manual working groups' (*Irish Times*, 10 April, 1972). Is it not to be expected that almost all of this group has little serious interest in doing away with poverty and exploitation when, in fact, their business lives are devoted to preserving and increasing profits and salaries at the expense of the lower paid? Anyone concerned with poverty and injustice must realise the futility of trying to solve the problem within the framework of capitalism. The existence of extreme poverty alongside vast wealth is only one amongst many contradictions within capitalism, and no amount of tinkering with the system by charitable organisations, or anyone else, will bring about justice and inequality.

The reason for poverty and suffering in the world today is capitalism and all its ill-effects. Until we set about changing the system that is exploiting people in a vicious and calculated way, we shall always have the problem of poverty.

poems

BE MODERATE

by james connolly

Some men, faint-hearted, ever seek
Our programme to retouch,
And will insist, when'er they speak
That we demand too much.
'Tis passing strange, yet I declare
Such statements cause me mirth,
For our demands most modest are,
We only want THE EARTH.

'Be moderate,' the trimmers cry,
Who dread the tyrant's thunder,
'You ask too much and people fly
From you aghast in wonder.'
'Tis passing strange, for I declare
Such statements give me mirth,
For our demands most modest are,
We only want THE EARTH.

Our masters all, a godly crew,
Whose hearts throb for the poor,
Their sympathies assure us, too,
If our demands were fewer.
Most generous souls. But please observe,
What they enjoy from birth
Is all we ever had the nerve
To ask, that is, THE EARTH.

The 'Labour Fakir,' full of guile,
Base doctrine ever preaches,
And while he bleeds the rank and file
Tame moderation teaches.
Yet in his despite, we'll see the day
When with sword in its girth.
Labour shall march in war array
To seize its own, THE EARTH.

For Labour long, with sighs and tears,
To its oppressors knelt,
But never yet, to aught save fears,
Did heart of tyrant melt.
We need not kneel, our cause is high
Of true men there's no dearth,
And our victorious rallying cry
Shall be 'WE WANT THE EARTH'.



come and join us

RISE, for the day is passing, and you lie dreaming on; the others have buckled their armour, and forth to the fight have gone.



'The bishop who lives like a millionaire will tell you he is deserving of sympathy because his diocese is £30,000 in debt.'

'The priest returning from his holiday on the Continent is convinced that his style of living is just one degree removed from destitution ...'

'There are many courses which create the impression of a rich Church:--the land; the great buildings; the one, two, three presbyteries in one parish; the ostentatious religious houses.'

(Sister Stanislaus, speaking on 'Poverty in Ireland', *"This Week"*, 3 December 1971).

IRISH WORKERS need not be fearful of Southern Ireland's entry into the EEC. Capitalism in the enlarged community will be of a bigger, more advanced variety than the Irish form. But as capitalism contains the seeds of its own destruction, any move towards this end must be welcomed as a progressive development. As Karl Marx wrote in 'Capital': 'One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralisation or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop on an ever-extending scale ... the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and with this, the international character of the capitalist regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. Their integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.' In the EEC greater resources of capital, more modern machinery and increased competition will eventually result in the centralisation of employers and workers. This will also involve redundancies and the displacement of workers on a large scale. The struggle for profits and for more and more markets forces the capitalists to introduce labour-saving machinery and to speed-up working methods. Ultimately overproduction and crisis results. Every such crisis brings the revolution nearer. During each crisis the small capitalists go under and their trade and markets are absorbed by the bigger employers.

In the EEC this situation will occur for the small Irish firm and their owners, will in many cases, be driven down into the workers' ranks. As Marx wrote in 'The Poverty of Philosophy': 'Monopoly produces competition, competition produces monopoly. Monopolists are made from competition; competitors become monopolists. If the monopolists restrict their mutual competition by means of partial associations, competition increases among the workers; and the more the mass of the

WORKERS IN THE EEC

MICHAEL DAVERN

proletarians grows as against the monopolists of one nation, the more desperate competition becomes between the monopolists of different nations. The synthesis is of such character that monopoly can maintain itself by continually entering into the struggle of competition.' ('The Metaphysics of Political Economy').

In the same book Marx deals with the benefits of free trade for the working class: 'Free trade increases productive forces. If industry keeps growing, if wealth, if the productive power, if, in a word productive capital increases the demand for labour, the price of labour, and consequently the rate of wages, rise also. The most favourable condition for the worker is the growth of capital. This must be admitted. If capital remains stationary, industry will not merely remain stationary but will decline, and in this case the worker will be the first victim. He goes to the wall before the capitalist. And in the case where capital keeps growing, in the circumstances which we have said are the best for the worker, what will be his lot? He will go to the wall just the same. The growth of productive capital implies the accumulation and the concentration of capital. The centralization of capital involves a greater division of labour and a greater use of machinery... This competition becomes fiercer as the division of labour enables a single worker to do the work of three. Machinery accomplishes the same result on a much larger scale. The growth of productive capital which forces the industrial capitalists to work with constantly increasing means, ruins the small industrialists and throws them into the proletariat. Then the rate of interest falling in proportion as capital accumulates, the small rentiers, who can no longer live on their dividends, are forced into industry and thus swell the number of proletarians. Finally, the more productive capital increases, the more it is compelled to produce for a market whose requirements it does not know, the more production precedes consumption, the more

supply tries to force demand, and consequently crises increase in frequency and in intensity. But every crisis in turn hastens the centralisation of capital and adds to the proletariat.' ('On the Question of Free Trade').

The EEC is therefore a logical extension of free trade in the progression of capitalism. Each higher stage in this development brings workers' power nearer. Because of this fact, and the knowledge that free trade intensifies the tensions and contradictions of capitalism, workers should not be afraid of the consequences of EEC entry. Marx made this clear when he stated: 'To sum up, what is free trade under the present condition of society? It is freedom of capital. When you have outgrown the few national barriers which still restrict the progress of capital, you will merely have given it complete freedom of action. So long as you let the relation of wage labour to capital exist, it does not matter how favourable the conditions under which the exchange of commodities takes place, there will always be a class which will exploit and a class which will be exploited. It is really difficult to understand the claim of the free-traders who imagine that the more advantageous application of capital will abolish the antagonism between industrial capitalists and wage workers. On the contrary, the only result will be that the antagonism of these two classes will stand out still more clearly ... Moreover, the protectionist system is nothing but a means of establishing large-scale industry in any given country, that is to say, of making it upon the world market, and from the moment that dependence upon the world market is established, there is already more or less dependence upon free trade. Besides this the protective system helps to develop free competition within a country. Hence we see that in countries where the bourgeoisie is beginning to make itself felt as a class ... it makes great efforts to obtain protective duties ... But in general the protective system of our day is conservative..free trade..breaks up old nationalities and pushes the antagonism of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to the extreme point. In a word, the free trade system hastens the social revolution. It is in this revolutionary sense alone ... that I vote in favour of free trade.' ('On the question of Free Trade').

Irish workers must begin the struggle, in co-operation with their European fellow-workers to overthrow capitalism. 'Workers of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win.'

CONNOLLY

ALWAYS and ever the working class movement seeks after clearness of thought, as a means to the accomplishment of working class aims. The middle class may and does deceive itself with finely turned phrases, and vague generalising of still vaguer aspirations, but the working class can think and speak only in language hard and definite, as hard and definite as the conditions of working class life. We have no room in our struggle for illusions about freedom.

MARX

'One part of society thus exacts tribute from another for the permission to inhabit the earth, as landed property in general assigns the landlord the privilege of exploiting the terrestrial body, the bowels of the earth, the air, and thereby the maintenance and development of life.'

(Karl Marx: 'Capital')

CROTTY

'There are many mighty reasons why the Irish State should so direct its policy. Independent family farms can provide a more satisfying way of life than that of a rural or urban proletariat. Those who live on family farms are at once less likely to be caught up in the mass revolutionary movements of the cities and less likely to be affected by the great booms, slumps and subsequent mass unemployment of factory and commercial life, which are themselves the source of revolution.' Raymond Crotty.

price of a president

'ADVERTISING COSTS today are so high that unless a candidate for a political office in the USA can get heavy financial backing like a Nixon, he has to be a Rockefeller, a Kennedy, or just an ordinary millionaire. Just to run for Congress, it costs over one million dollars. To be a Senator, it takes five million ... Today, US politics are for the wealthy only.'

'To elect Mr. Richard M. Nixon in 1968 reportedly cost the Republican Party over 400 million dollars. His opponent, Mr. Hubert Humphrey (Democrat), spent around 100 million, while Mr. George Wallace, who ran as third candidate, on a maverick party expended some six million.'

These facts and figures are taken from The 'Irish Times' column, 'Madison Avenue', by John McCarthy, of 6 April this year. As the name suggests, the column is a specialised one, which deals with the advertising business in America. This particular article was appropriately named, 'The Hard Sell of a US Presidential Election'.

According to John McCarthy, about 300 million dollars and maybe even more, will be spent on political advertising in the USA between now and 7 November, when the next Presidential election will be held. The major part of this money will go on television advertising. After the spending spree of the 1968 election, a good deal of criticism was generated all over America. It was caused partly by the publication of the best-selling book 'The Selling of the President', written by Joe McGinniss. The book described from the inside, the television tactics of Nixon's managers and public relations men to package and glamourise their 'product'. The aim of these tactics, according to Mr. McGinniss, was to sell Nixon like a bar of soap or a breakfast food.

A Bill on the lines of the British system of limiting spending to so much per voter was passed by the US Congress but was turned down by Nixon. The fact that his own party, the Republicans, usually get the biggest financial contributions certainly influenced his decision.

Describing the rise of the ad-man, John McCarthy wrote '... there has come upon the political scene a new breed of campaign consultants, many of them former ad agents themselves. Working on a fat fee basis, said experts take over the candidates' or the party's entire campaign. They prepare not just the advertising copy but also the speeches, the letters, and arrange rallies and direct the volunteer campaign workers'. These political consultants are a new breed of operators who have appeared on the political scene in recent times and many of these are formerly advertising executives. For both the advertising agencies and the consultants the election campaign are lush times. Multi-million jobs are common.

Just to be re-elected as Governor of New York in 1970, Nelson Rockefeller spent six million dollars in advertising in a 12-week campaign. There were scores of

pamphlets, brochures and gimmicks of all kinds. There was even something called a 'Rockefeller Mini Kit', designed specially for women and including a litter bag 'to keep New York clean' and an index card with a recipe named after Rockefeller's wife, called 'Happy Rockefeller's Coffee Cake.'

Giving an account of how the parties collect funds, John McCarthy stated: 'One source for Democratic money will be US corporations, which not only contribute to the Republicans but also to the Democrats to play it safe. The same is true of many individual US millionaires, whose personal business interests sometimes require, like those of US corporations, a political favour. Nothing ensures better for granting same than being a generous donor to the respective political parties at election time.'

In this context words like 'democracy'

and 'freedom of choice' are just tired, meaningless slogans to be exploited in the cynical vote-pulling game. Writing about the very real limitations placed on the operation of democracy by the capitalist system Lenin used the example of America to illustrate his point: 'One of the most democratic republics in the world is the USA, yet nowhere ... is the power of a handful of billionaires over the whole of society, so crude and so openly corrupt as in America. Once capital exists, it dominates the whole of society, and no democratic republic, no form of franchise can alter the essence of the matter.'

But can it really be otherwise in a society where the means of production, distribution and exchange are in a few privately-owned hands? American democracy is nothing more than a camouflage for the rule of capital.

part two

JIM KEMMY

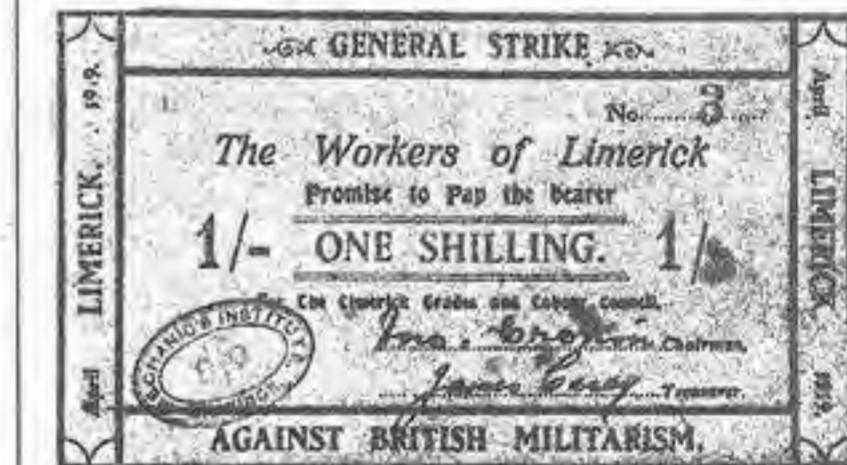
THE LIMERICK SOVIET

MARTIAL LAW continued and the city remained cut off by the military road-blocks. The strike committee went on with the work of administering and policing the besieged area. After the military had circulated copies of a typewritten notice throughout the city disclaiming responsibility for the inconvenience caused to the people and placing the blame for this on 'certain irresponsible individuals', the strike committee replied:

'Fellow citizens, as it has come to our notice that the Military Authorities are endeavouring to spread the falsehood that it is we rather than they, who are trying to starve you, we hereby disclaim any such intentions, as we have already made every arrangement whereby foodstuffs will be distributed to our fellow citizens. Our fight is not against our own people but against the inhuman and tyrannical imposition of martial law by the British Government which is solely responsible. As peaceful workers we only desire that we should be left alone to exercise the right of free men in our own country. What is happening in Limerick now, what may happen hereafter, will be laid at the door of the British Government, and in our fight for freedom we disclaim responsibility for the doings of the said Government. We confidently appeal to our fellow citizens of Limerick to aid us in every way in making the strike effective. Should any suffering or inconvenience be occasioned we rely on the men and women of Limerick, inspired as they are by old and proud traditions, to suffer them patiently, as our forefathers did before us in the glorious cause of freedom. Limerick has proud and noble traditions to uphold and now in our hour of trial we confidently rely on Limerick to fight gallantly in this glorious cause in which we shall soon have millions of supporters from all over the world.'

A local priest, Fr. W. Dwane, Administrator of St. Michael's church, later complained 'that neither his Lordship the Bishop, Most Rev. Dr. Hallinan, nor the clergy, were consulted before the strike; however, the bishop and ten prominent local priests issued a carefully-worded statement which did not directly refer to the strike:

(1) 'That we consider the proclamation of the City of Limerick in existing circumstances as quite unwarrantable without investigation of any kind. The citizens of Limerick are being penalised for the commentable incidents at the Limerick Workhouse.'



(2) 'That the military arrangements of the funeral of the late Mr. Robert Byrne were unnecessarily aggressive and provocative. The presence of armoured cars on the route and the hovering of aeroplanes over the city during the funeral procession were quite an uncalled for display, in the circumstances, of military power, and calculated to fill every right-minded person with feelings of disgust and abhorrence.'

(3) 'That in fixing the boundaries of the

continued on back page

TONY CROWLEY

black baby bonanza

'A PENNY FOR the black babies': The emotive ring of this phrase will evoke childhood memories for most Irish people of the weekly school collections for the black babies. (These collections are still held, but the sum demanded has been upgraded to meet the demands of the times and the babies.)

Haunting images of suffering and starving babies in Africa and Asia were brought forth to impress childish minds. Priests, Nuns, Brothers and teachers kept up the pressure with tales of the poverty of foreign missionaries and their black flock and their gratitude for the regular supply of pennies. Working class children were to the forefront in plaintively pestering their financially hard-pressed parents for the scarce coppers.

THE LIMERICK SOVIET

continued from page 7

military area, the responsible authorities have shown a lamentable want of consideration for the convenience of the citizens at large and especially for the working classes.'

On Thursday, 17 April, Brigadier-General Griffin, Commandant of the military operation, met the members of the Chamber of Commerce and gave them authority to issue permits to their workers to go to work. He also stated that he was considering giving the employers further permission to send permits to their customers in the country. Despite these concessions, the Chamber was far from happy at the calling and conduct of the strike. It held a special meeting on 19 April and sent a resolution to Bonar Law demanding that martial law be removed. After the strike it made this statement: 'Had the workers consulted with the Chamber before declaring a general strike, joint action could have been taken which might have been effective and saved the city from the disastrous strike which lasted twelve days. The Directors of this Chamber feel it their duty to enter an emphatic protest against the arbitrary action of the workers in calling a general strike without giving due notice to the employers. Had the position been reversed, and the employers, without notice, closed down their premises, the workmen would have bitterly resented the action.'

On 17 April Tom Johnson arrived in Limerick as a representative of the national executive of the Irish Trade Union Congress. He immediately began discussions with the strike committee to seek a way of ending the strike and these discussions led to internal dissension and to the ultimate ending of the strike.
(to be continued).

'The barbarities and desperate outrages of the so-called Christian race, throughout every region of the world, and upon every people they have been able to subdue, are not to be paralleled by those of any other race, however fierce, however untaught, and however reckless of mercy and of shame, in any age of the earth.' William Howitt, 'Colonisation and Christianity'. Quoted by Karl Marx in 'Capital.'

This idyllic of idealism and sacrifice took a knock recently. A report in the 'Irish Independent' of 21 April stated: 'Cork Corporation yesterday received an application from a new local development company for permission to go ahead with a £6,000,000 industrial housing and commercial scheme in the Bishopstown-Wilton area ... 'Behind the big plan is Wilton Securities Ltd., a wholly-owned Irish company, which includes Mr. Clayton Love, junior, the Cork businessman. The

company is likely to pay about £1,500,000 to the Society of African Missions for the 350-acre site ... 'The African Mission Society is retaining its church and St. Joseph's College.'

Perhaps the vast sum being paid by the firm of house and property speculators to the African Missions Society is one of the ways of Irish capitalism of showing appreciation of the foreign missions and their contribution to international imperialism. The role of the missions in teaching their submissive education and religion has played a notable part in the economic exploitation of Africa and Asia and in the general success of the imperialist offensive.

Not content with aiding foreign exploitation, the African Mission Society is now taking a direct hand in the exploitation of thousands of Cork home-seekers, who will be forced to repay the £1½ million land deal in inflated house prices. And where do the black babies come in? How many babies will be 'saved' out of the £1½ million? How many pennies in £1½ million?

COUNCIL COMMENTARY

THERE WAS a full-scale Garda and Army alert at last night's meeting of the Limerick City Council, after an anonymous telephone caller warned William Street Station that a bomb had been placed in the Limerick Chamber.

The Sergeant who took the mysterious phone call at 7 p.m. wasted no time in alerting the Fire Brigade and Army. Within two hours four FCA men arrived at the scene. The Brigade was out on an emergency, rescuing a cat up a tree. So the Garda Sergeant was left with no option but to cycle to the Council Chamber, where he bravely warned the members of the impending doom.

He stood in the grounds of St. Mary's Cathedral and roared, in his best Kerry accent, across at the building: 'Get out ye eejits ... get oura it ... 'tis going to blow.'

The Mayor, Cllr. Bus O'Riscoll, on hearing the shouting said it was a terrible disgrace that anyone should interrupt the lawful and democratic business of the Council.

Meanwhile a large crowd had gathered and a company of troops arrived from Sarsfield Barracks. The officer in charge said he would not risk one of his men for the crowd inside, although this was later denied by the Government Information Bureau.

'Several men volunteered to enter the building and warn the busy councillors, but none were so stupid to do so,' said an eye witness.

The Army stated that a well-fed private did volunteer to enter and rescue the Shadow Minister for Defence, Ald. Grieve Mocklan, T.D. 'He takes a keen interest in the fatty bacon served to us,'

said the soldier.

Limerick firemen made several attempts to enter the building but each time were overcome by the hot air fumes. 'Talk about a load of gossips,' said one fireman, 'my mother-in-law wouldn't get a look in.'

At 9 o'clock the drama reached a new height. While the Councillors were inside slagging each other, a late comer arrived on the scene. Cllr. Slick Pearls took his life in his hands and entered the building which was expected to explode at any second. Later he re-emerged and was greeted by loud cheers. Asked the reason for his daring action, Cllr. Pearls replied that he wanted to borrow the Mayoral chain for his role as ex-officio 'deputy' Mayor in judging a Junior Chamber of Commerce Beauty Contest.

When the Councillors finally heard the bad news, all hell broke loose. Cllr. Gory Biddy and Sen. Ted Mussell injured themselves trying to escape up the chimney. Others leaped out through windows and Madame Bliza said they had never been so active since they evicted her from Arthur's Quay.

In the midst of the confusion the Pity Manager turned to his officials and said: 'I'd thought they would never leave and let us get on with the business.'

The Gardai now believe the bomb scare was only a hoax and are treating the whole matter lightly, while in a newspaper interview, Mrs. Peggy Mocklan said it was all a Left Wing plot.

The Pity Manager was secretly spotted laughing to himself and was heard to mutter in an aside: 'I didn't think they would scare so easily ... it was a runaway success ... the whole thing went like a bomb.'

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